- Immigration
- National identity
- The 2015 general election
- And some statistics!

DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ON NATIONAL **IDENTITY, CULTURE AND IMMIGRATION**

The 2015 general election has come and gone. The SIF is a cross-party organisation so it's fair to say that the result could have been better, could have been worse. The Conservatives were probably better than Labour on the economy. At least the Conservatives openly acknowledged the deficit and growing debt, which is rather important. But be in no doubt that the Conservatives under Mr Cameron are wholly committed to the UK's membership of the EU.

As such it was sad to see UKIP not receive due reward for - within a civilised, pluralist context - keeping the debates about the EU, mass immigration and multiculturalism in the public eye and being rewarded with relentless abuse for their pains. And for putting the case for increased military spending - rather than posturing "overseas aid" - in an increasingly uncertain world. And for putting the case for a market-based economy that was nevertheless not just the plaything of the multinationals and the banks.

It was dispiriting to see seat after seat North of the Border falling to the SNP. As I understand them, their economic policies are pure hokum. Their campaigns during both the general election and last year's referendum have been accompanied by intimidation on a scale possibly unparalleled in mainland Britain. Above all, as a strongly pro-EU party, their very premise is a lie. You can believe in Scottish independence or membership of the EU. Both can be defended, but not at the same time. For good or ill, the EU is explicitly designed to override national independence.

And then there are the poor Liberal Democrats. (Made sad on a personal level by the death of Charles Kennedy just weeks after the election.) For reasons that are too complicated to explain here, I've belatedly come to appreciate the mere existence of the Lib Dems or its earlier incarnations as a viable electoral force in post-war Britain. On a more practical level, whatever the faults of the party, we might come to miss their occa-

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THE NON-ECONOMIC COSTS OF MASS MIGRATION TO THE UK

Robert Henderson

Debate about the costs of mass immigration in mainstream politics and media concentrate overwhelmingly on the economic costs. Indeed, public debate is very often solely about the economics, whether that be the difference between tax paid and benefits drawn by immigrants or the supposed need for immigrants because of their alleged superior skills or work ethic.

These costs are important, but the more damaging costs are the non-economic ones which change the tenor of a society. That is not to say that the non-economic costs do not have economic implications, for example, the 2011 riots in England did, but what I am considering here are the psychological and sociological costs. I concentrate on Britain, but the vast majority of the points made apply to any first world society with a large immigrant population and many of the points apply to any society, rich or poor, which has suffered a large influx of immigrants. The non-economic costs to Britain are:

1. The colonisation of parts of the UK, especially in England, for example, much of inner London, Leicester, Birmingham and Bradford by immigrants who create separate worlds in which to live with next to no attempt at integration. This makes living in such areas for native Britons very problematic, because not only will they feel they are a minority in their own land, a severe psychological burden, those native Britons who are parents will have a very real concern that the state schools (where the large majority of British pupils are educated) in their area will be Towers of Babel in which their children will be neglected, taught more of the cultures of immigrants than their own culture and quite probably bullied simply for being native Britons.

The poorer native Britons in such areas will often not have the option of moving – as white liberals frequently do – to an area where there are few immigrants because of the cost of moving, especially that of housing. It is also much more difficult for some-

one in an unskilled or low-skilled occupation to find such work in areas with a large immigrant component.

- **2.** The damaging effect on the morale of the native British population of seeing parts of their country colonised with the connivance of their elites.
- **3.** The damaging effect on the morale of the native British population of employers and politicians claiming that immigrants are more able and possessed of a superior work ethic than the native Briton.
- 4. Immigrant Ghettoes. Their formation is a natural tendency amongst immigrants which was given a great deal of added energy by the British elite's adoption of multiculturalism in the 1970s. This was both a consequence of the Left-Liberal internationalist terminally naïve happy-clappy "we are all one big human family" ideology and an attempt to ameliorate mass immigration's ill effects when it became clear that assimilation/integration had not taken place amongst the black and Asian immigrants of the fifties and sixties after several generations had been born in Britain. The effect has been to create longlasting ghettoes which are not only separate from the British mainstream but are hostile to Britain, its native population and its culture.
- **5.** Censorship. The need by the British elite to suppress dissent amongst the native population at the invasion of their country has resulted in a gross assault on free speech. They have done this through legislation, for example, the Race Relations Act 1976, Public Order Act 1986 and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000; by creating a willingness amongst the police to intimidate by pouncing with the greatest zeal on those who dare to be any other than rigidly politically correct in the matter of race and immigration (this is frequently done with no intention of bringing charges but simply to frighten), and through the complicity of those in the media and employers (especially public sector and

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large private employers) to punish the politically incorrect heretics with media hate campaigns or the loss of jobs.

6. Double standards in law enforcement. As mentioned above, the police and the Crown Prosecution Service show great eagerness in investigating and prosecuting cases when a white person (especially a white Briton) is accused of being racist on the flimsiest of evidence and a remarkable sloth where someone from a racial or ethnic minority group has been blatantly racist. The case of Rhea Page is an especially fine example of the latter behaviour whereby a vicious indubitably racist attack by Somali girls on a white English girl and her boyfriend did not result in a custodial sentence (Dolan & Faulkner, 2011, December 6).

The strong reluctance of the British state to act against crimes specific to ethnic and racial minorities can be particularly seen in the case of "honour killings", Female Genital Mutilation and the clearly racist grooming of white girls by men from the Indian sub-continent. Action has eventually been taken but only after such abuses being ignored for many years.

- 7. The general privileging racial and ethnic minorities over the native British population. The incontinent pandering to immigrant cultures, especially Muslims, by politicians, public service organisations, large private businesses and much of the mainstream media. The pandering ranges from such material advantages as housing associations which cater only for specific ethnic and racial minorities (Henderson, 2011, April 8) and a toleration of customs and morals which would be unreservedly declared to be wrong if practised by the native population, for example, the ritual slaughter of animals.
- 8. The incessant pc propagandising in schools and universities, even in subjects which do not seem to readily lend themselves to pc manipulation such as economics and geography. The most pernicious effect of this ideological corruption of schooling is to effectively rob native British (and especially English) children of their history. This occurs because the general history of Britain (and especially that of England) is not taught (there is no meaningful chronology of British or any other history delivered to children because themes rather than periods are the

order of the day) and the history which is covered is heavily slanted towards portraying the British as pantomime villains forever oppressing subject peoples and growing rich on the wealth extracted from them. The upshot is the creation of several generations of native British (and especially English) children who have (1) no meaningful understanding of their history and general culture and (2) have acquired a sense that any praise of or pride in their own land, culture and history is dangerous and that the only safe way to get through school is to repeat the politically correct mantras of their teachers.

- 9. The piggy-backing on "anti-discrimination" laws to do with race of the other politically correct mainstays of sexual and gender equality and lesser entrants to the equality game such as age and disability. Racism is undoubtedly the most potent of all pc voodoo words and without it the present gigantic edifice of the "diversity and equality" religion would in all probability not exist, or would at least exist in much less potent form.
- 10. The claustrophobia of diversity. A sense of paranoid claustrophobia (something common to totalitarian states) has been created amongst the native British population by the suppression of dissent about mass immigration and its consequences, by the imposition of the multiculturalist creed and by the ceaseless extolling of the "joy of diversity" by white liberals who take great care to live well insulated against the "joy". The effect of this claustrophobia is to generally reduce the native British population to an ersatz acceptance of the pc message, but the discontent every now and then bubbles over into public outbursts such as those of Emma West (Henderson, 2011, December 1). Such outbursts, which are a basic form of political protest, are increasingly visited with criminal charges and jail sentences.
- 11. The enemy within. The creation of large communities of those who are ethnically and racially different from the native British in Britain produces de facto fifth columns. We are already seeing how countries such as India and China respond to any attempt to restrict future immigration for these countries by making veiled threats about what will happen if Britain does this. At a less direct level of foreign threat, British foreign policy is increasingly shaped by the fact that there are large ethnic and racial minorities in Britain.

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There is also the growing numbers, especially amongst Muslims in Britain, of those who are actively hostile to the very idea of Britain and are willing to resort to extreme violence to express their hatred, actions such as the 7/7 bombings in London and the murder of the soldier Lee Rigby.

12. Violence based on ethnicity and behaviours peculiar to immigrant groups such as "honour" killings", street gangs and riots. Every self-initiated British riot since 1945, that is a riot started by rioters not violence in response to police action against a crowd of demonstrators, has its roots in immigration. The Notting Hill riots of 1958 were the white response to large scale Caribbean immigration; every riot in Britain since then has been instigated and led by blacks or Asians from the Indian Sub-Continent. This includes the riots of 2011 in England which the politically correct British media have tried desperately to present as a riot which in its personnel was representative of modern England. In fact, it began with the shooting of a mixed race man in North London by police and even the official statistics on the race and ethnicity of those convicted of crimes in the riots show that blacks and Asians comprised more than fifty percent of those brought to book (Henderson, 2011, November 4).

13. Uncontrolled immigration. The larger the number of immigrants, the louder voice they have, the greater the electoral power. This in practice means ever more immigration as politicians pander to immigrant groups by allowing them to bring in their relatives or even simply more from their ethnic group. This trait has been amplified by the British political elite signing treaties since 1945 which obligate Britain to take large numbers of asylum seekers and give hundreds of millions of people in Europe the right to reside and work in Britain through Britain's membership of the EU. Britain cannot even deport illegal immigrants with any ease because either the originating countries will not take them or British courts grant them rights to remain because of Britain's membership of the European Convention of Human Rights. The overall effect is to create de facto open borders immigration to the UK.

14. The introduction of ethnic based voting. This is phenomenon which is in its infancy as a serious threat, but it can already be found in areas with a large population of Asians whose

ancestral land is the India sub continent. This is a recipe for eventual racial and ethnic strife.

15. The corruption of the British electoral system. Voter fraud had been rare in Britain for more than a hundred years before the Blair Government was formed in 1997. This was partly because of the general culture of the country and partly because of the way elections were conducted (with the vast majority of votes having to be cast in person) made fraudulent voting difficult. The scope for postal voting was extended from special cases such as the disabled and the old to any elector by the Representation of the People Act 2000. The frauds which have been discovered since the extension of the postal vote have been disproportionately amongst Asians whose ancestral origin was in the Indian subcontinent (Greenhill & Shipman, 2010, May 4).

A particularly bad and ongoing problem of widespread fraud in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets which resulted in the overturning of a council election (Gilligan, 2015, May 3) shows that this is a deep-rooted and persistent political malady. Nor is it a marginal issue for national elections. The influence of fraudulent voting could be substantial because around 20% of votes cast in the 2010 General Election were postal and in the North East region of England more than a third of all votes were cast by post (Rallings & Thrasher, 2010, p. 2).

Attacking the nation

All of these things gradually erode the fundamentals of British society including immensely valuable and rare values and behaviours such as respect for the law, trust between the population at large, mutual regard and a large degree of tolerance for others. Most fundamentally, the native British, and especially the English, have been seriously deracinated. They no longer know their history and worryingly many seem to view their nationality as merely one ethnicity competing with many others. That is a dangerous mentality because no people will survive if it does not have an innate sense of its own worth and fellow feeling for those sharing the same territory. In short, patriotism is not an optional extra (Henderson, August 1).

"... no people will survive if it does not have an innate sense of its own worth and fellow feeling for those sharing the same territory."

The British elite since 1945 has been programmed to attack the very idea of nations. Mass immigration has been the tool they have chosen to attain that end in Britain. We have the word of Andrew Neather (2009, October 23), a special adviser to the Blair government that the massive immigration (over 3 million net) during the Blair years was a deliberate policy to dilute the native culture of the UK:

I wrote the landmark speech given by then immigration minister Barbara Roche in September 2000, calling for a loosening of controls. It marked a major shift from the policy of previous governments: from 1971 onwards, only foreigners joining relatives already in the UK had been permitted to settle here.

That speech was based largely on a report by the Performance and Innovation Unit, Tony Blair's Cabinet Office think-tank.

The PIU's reports were legendarily tedious within Whitehall but their big immigration report was surrounded by an unusual air of both anticipation and secrecy.

Drafts were handed out in summer 2000 only with extreme reluctance: there was a paranoia about it reaching the media.

Eventually published in January 2001, the innocuously labelled "RDS Occasional Paper no. 67", "Migration: an economic and social analysis" focused heavily on the labour market case.

But the earlier drafts I saw also included a driving political purpose: that mass immigration was the way that the Government was going to make the UK truly multicultural.

I remember coming away from some discussions with the clear sense that the policy was intended — even if this wasn't its main purpose — to rub the Right's nose in diversity and render their arguments out of date. That seemed to me to be a manoeuvre too far.

Ministers were very nervous about the whole thing. For despite Roche's keenness to make her big speech and to be upfront, there was a reluctance elsewhere in government to discuss what increased immigration would mean, above all for Labour's core white working-class vote.

This shone through even in the published report: the "social outcomes" it talks about are solely those for immigrants.

And this first-term immigration policy got no mention among the platitudes on the subject in Labour's 1997 manifesto, headed Faster, Firmer, Fairer.

The results were dramatic. In 1995, 55,000 foreigners were granted the right to settle in the UK. By 2005 that had risen to 179,000; last year, with immigration falling thanks to the recession, it was 148,000.

In addition, hundreds of thousands of migrants have come from the new EU member states since 2004, most requiring neither visas nor permission to work or settle. The UK welcomed an estimated net 1.5 million immigrants in the decade to 2008.

Part by accident, part by design, the Government had created its longed-for immigration boom.

That should be seen for what it was, the most fundamental form of treason, because it is far more damaging than selling a nation out to a foreign invader arriving by military means. Such invaders can be eventually driven out or the invaders assimilated because the numbers are not massive. Mass immigration totalling millions of those determined to retain their own culture can never be undone by such means.

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NATION, STATE AND CULTURE: AN INDIVIDUALISTIC VIEW

Neil Lock

There's been much discussion recently around Englishness, Britishness and the future (or lack of it) of the English. This is my contribution to that discussion.

Because of my own character and experiences, my perspective is a little different from most people's. So I'll, necessarily, begin with some brief personal history.

A potted autobiography

I am English born and bred; though, from a genetic point of view, I'm only five-eighths English, the remaining three-eighths being Scottish. I had an unusual education, which sent me on a state-funded scholarship to private boarding schools. (The state, in the aftermath of Sputnik, wanted to create as many boffins as it could; and I happened to show the right kind of promise at the right time.) I eventually studied mathematics at Trinity College, Cambridge, where I just about managed to scrape a First.

Deciding that academic boffinhood wasn't for me, I looked for a job in the (at that time, young and vibrant) software industry. My first professional job – for Ferranti, programming on-board systems for the Navy – was interesting, but the pay was rubbish, and some of the people weren't very nice. Old Labour were in power at the time, too. So, in 1977 I moved to Holland to work for a software house there.

I spent three years in Holland, and they changed me. For a start, I had money in my pocket for the first time. And I enjoyed sampling the different cultures of Holland and Belgium, and a bit of France and Germany. By the end of three years, I had come to think of myself as no longer English or British, but European. (That was not, then, the heinous crime it might be seen as now; for "Europe" at that time was the EEC, which was a Good Thing. The evil EU was still only a glint in the eye of Brussels bureaucrats).

I moved back to the UK in 1980, and my work began to take me further afield. To Indonesia, Italy, the US and Australia, to name but four of my assignments. During that time, I came to see myself no longer as a European, but as a citizen of the world. If I had known of it back then, I would have echoed Tom Paine's dictum: "The World is my country, all mankind are my brethren, and to do good is my religion."

In 1990 I went to work in the US, with the intention of staying there. But it took me less than a year to see that the US was already going to the dogs as a place to live. So I returned; and have suffered the predations of Messrs Major, Blair, Brown and Cameron and their hangers-on ever since.

These days, most of what I do is testing and QA, so I don't need to travel much on business. But I'm still accustomed to working in a highly international industry. Furthermore, the main company with which I do a lot of my work, though small, has clients all over the world. And its staff are as international as the clients, and they aren't just confined to Europeans. It's a bit of a United Nations in there.

My odyssey of the 1980s also introduced me to various liberty organizations in both the US and UK. Thus, I had plenty of opportunity to learn the ideas and theories of liberty. But I'm not, by nature, a particularly avid reader of other people's prose. I prefer, following Richard Feynman (one of my heroes), to learn just enough about a problem to understand it, and then to try to solve it in my own way.

As a result, I developed my own particular slant on the ideas of liberty. This is not just a political philosophy, but sets out its stall to be a complete system of thought, from the ground up. I eventually managed – with a lot of hard work – to get the basics of it written down in a book called *Honest Common Sense*, which I published last year. [Available from online retailers: Ed.]

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Nation, state and culture

So, what do I think these days about England, Britishness and all the rest? I find it important to separate out three concepts: nation, state and culture. And, within culture, to separate values and conduct from customs and institutions.

The state

I'll take the state first. The way I look at it, the concept of state arises from the concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty is, *per* Webster's dictionary, "supreme power, especially over a body politic." The idea goes all the way back to Jean Bodin, the French jurist and political philosopher, in the 16th century.

In this view, the sovereign – i.e. the ruling élite – is fundamentally different from, and superior to, the rest of the population in its territory, the *subjects*. In particular, the sovereign has rights to do certain things, which others do not. Among these are: to make laws to bind the subjects; to make wars; to levy taxes; and to issue a currency. Furthermore, the sovereign isn't bound by the laws it makes, and isn't responsible for the consequences of what it does (also known as "the king can do no wrong.")

So, what is the state? The state is the implementer of sovereignty in a particular territory. Or, as I have recently come to put it: "the apparatus which enforces the hegemony of a ruling élite."

In a British context, pundits would tell you that the sovereign is an old woman called Lizzie, who lives in a castle at Windsor. But this is ridiculous. In fact, if I were a betting man, I'd bet that Lizzie is in reality all but a prisoner in her own castle. Even Cameron has more power than Lizzie does. And a cabal of bureaucrats, whose names we do not know, and whose faces we have never seen, has far, far more power than Cameron.

The biggest single philosophical gripe I have with the state, though, is that its existence is incompatible with moral equality, and so with the rule of law. For a vital facet of the rule of law is that what is legal, and what is not, must be exactly the same for everyone. Yet the state routinely allows itself moral privileges. If you or I extorted money from people like the taxation system does, for example,

wouldn't it be seen as theft or worse? Or if you or I premeditatedly killed an innocent person like Jean Charles de Menezes, wouldn't it be seen as murder?

And consider, if you will, the huge progress which we humans have made over the 400+ years since Bodin died. We have made great strides in science, in medicine, in technology and communications, in our understanding of human rights, in finance, in the economy, in the ability to blow each other up, and in much else. We've even been through the Enlightenment, for goodness' sake! So why haven't our political institutions made similar progress in all these centuries? Why are we still suffering a system that allows a ruling élite to do to us exactly what it wants, with no come-back? And as for the charade called democracy, that's the last straw, giving as it does a veneer of apparent legitimacy to the whole shebang.

So, what do I think of the British state? I reject it. It's a hangover from a way of thinking that pre-dates John Locke by 100+ years. In the wise words of Gregory Sams: "The state is out of date."

The nation

So much for the state. Pcha! But what of the nation?

I do identify myself as English; but that's mainly for convenience. For reasons above, I'm not prepared to tar myself with the label "British." So, as there's no English state, I find "English" an acceptable substitute; and one that most people understand.

That said, though, I don't feel part of any English nation or people. One reason is that I'm an individualist, meaning that my focus is on the individual rather than the collective. Because of this, I have never liked the idea of "a people" in the singular. For me, the word "people" is always plural, and means the same as "persons."

Furthermore, it's only through happenstance that I came to be born in England. I could just as easily have been born in Australia, or Holland, or Indonesia, or Italy, or the US – all places I've lived in for months or more.

Another problem is that "nation" today has come to mean both a geographical commu-

"Why are we still suffering a system that allows a ruling élite to do to us exactly what it wants..?"

nity in a state, and a racial or tribal community. I find these two to be incompatible; and this is the root of the British versus English dichotomy, which I've long felt keenly. Furthermore, the EU makes things even more confusing.

Indeed, I find the idea of geographical community, in an age of mass migration and of the Internet, to be no longer helpful. It may have been workable in the days of walled city states, when the safety of one really was the safety of all. But today, does it really make sense to judge individuals as friend or foe simply by where they live? I think not.

And I've never approved of tribalism. In a cynical mood, I like to say that lovers of tribalism ought to go to Africa and start playing Tutsi v. Hutu. So, I don't find judging friend or foe by bloodlines terribly appealing either.

In any case, we are all mongrels now. And that would still be so, even if not one single immigrant had passed the borders of England in the last 50 years.

Thus, I have come to see nationalism – all nationalism – as rather silly. And, historically, very destructive.

Institutions and customs

On to culture. And here, the outlook is a little more positive. As to English customs, I eat an English breakfast each morning; though I wash it down in the Dutch style with black tea. I used to play cricket for 30+ years. I still do play in a brass band. And I take pride in my command of the English language, though I'm prone to using it in a somewhat mid-Atlantic way.

As to English institutions, I am a lover of the English pub, having walked to no less than 400 from my home over the course of little more than a decade. (Though my taste in beer is European rather than English.)

And I have respect for the English common law. At least, as it was before it got corrupted. Blair's abolition of the double jeopardy rule, and Cameron's secret courts, are egregious recent examples of these corruptions. But I think these issues go back to the 19th century, at least as early as the introduction of strict liability in criminal law.

Nevertheless I know that, in honest hands, the common law can still work well. I once watched, from a privileged position in the jury box, a judge go about his business of making absolutely sure that justice was done in his courtroom. Without going so far as to use the nuclear option of instructing us to acquit, he made it quite plain what he thought of the case. And it was a fine performance. (Though ultimately unnecessary, with me on the jury. But the judge didn't know that.)

I can't, however, feel any respect at all for those institutions which have become politicized. The kicking out of hereditary peers from the House of Lords, for example, has removed yet another small plank of defence against the state's destruction of our rights and freedom. For, whatever you may think of how they got there, it is undeniable that many hereditary peers both took their jobs seriously, and didn't have any party political axe to grind. But the Lords now? Political operatives, almost all of them.

As to the Commons, I suppose there may be a few half decent individuals on the Tory back benches. Perhaps one or two among the Lib Dems too, and maybe a few UKIP-pers in the future. But my feeling for MPs in general is one of contempt. They are supposed to *represent* us, the good people of England; and they don't even damn well try.

And as to the BBC and other mainstream media, I don't believe anything any of them says any more. Unless I can verify it for myself.

My values

So, I feel no sense of "we" with either the British state or the English nation. But being an individualist doesn't at all mean that I wish to be a hermit, to shut myself away from others. Where, then, shall I seek community?

My answer is: The people I'll accept as my fellows are those who share my essential values. What are these values? I see two strands. In one strand, my "conservative" side if you will, I look to the past for my inspiration; and, specifically, to the values of the 17th and 18th century Enlightenment. In the other, my "progressive" side, I look to the future. It was in order to develop this

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strand of my thinking that I set out to write my book of philosophy.

As to Enlightenment values, I will give a brief list of some which are important to me. Reason and the pursuit of science. Toleration, particularly in religion. The idea that society exists for the individual, not the individual for society. The idea that human beings are naturally good. Freedom of thought and action. Natural rights and human dignity. Government for the benefit of the governed. Formal equality and the rule of law. A desire for progress, and a rational optimism for the future.

As to the progressive strand of my thinking, I could just say "read my book." But to make life easy for my readers, I'll here give a very brief summary of the philosophy I call *Honest Common Sense*.

I begin with individuality and with tolerance of difference. My motto here is: Be yourself, and let others be themselves. Next, I say: Seek the truth. I try to focus on the facts. I aim to use my mind, and its capacity for reason, to find out as much of the truth as I can. And to go wherever the truth leads. Furthermore, I strive always to tell the truth as best I know it.

As to Politics – with a capital P, meaning the science of social organization and government, as opposed to the small-p politics we suffer today – I set out four principles. These four principles, I affirm, ought to be followed by any society worthy of the name *civilization*.

First, justice; objective, individual justice. That is: Each individual, over the long term and in the round, should be treated as he or she treats others. Second, moral equality: What is right for one to do, is right for another to do under similar circumstances, and vice versa. I see this as the foundation of the rule of law, as opposed to rule by an élite. Third, I put rights. That is: Provided you behave as a civil human being, you have the right to be treated as a civil human being. And fourth and last is Freedom: Except where countermanded by justice, the rule of law or respect for rights, every individual is free to choose and act as he or she wishes.

In economics, I follow Franz Oppenheimer's distinction between the economic means,

"the equivalent exchange of one's own labour for the labour of others," and the political means, "the unrequited appropriation of the labour of others." I distinguish Makers – that is, productive people who earn an honest living – from tax funded Takers that do nothing (or worse) for those who pay their wages, and from those such as crony capitalists, whom I dub Rakers.

I strongly support property rights, the free market and true capitalism – that is, the condition in which no-one is prevented from justly acquiring or justly using wealth. And I am uncompromisingly against re-distributory taxation, which I find to be a taking – indeed, a premeditated taking – of that part of the taxpayer's life, which he or she used to earn the money taken. Taxation is far worse than mere theft!

Finally, the centrepiece of my philosophy is Honesty. That is, being true to your nature as a civil human being. And the law of honesty is: Practise what you preach. Those that fail to live up to that law – hypocrites, users of double standards, call them what you will – are enemies of civilization.

My friends and my enemies

So, who exactly will I admit into my community? The answer should be obvious. My brothers (and sisters) are those who, broadly, share my values. That is, those who conduct their lives according to ideals similar to mine, and who behave in a civil manner towards me and others. My fellow human beings are the *civil* or *civilized* people.

And I look to judge individuals by their conduct, and only by their conduct. Not by the colour of their skins, or by their birthplace, or by their social class, or by their sexual orientation, or by what religion they were brought up in.

Here's the description of my sense of "we" from the book:

We are the economically productive people, the Makers. We are the promoters and supporters of objective justice, moral equality, individual rights and freedom. We are the honest, gentle, peaceful people, who deserve to inherit the Earth.

"And I look to judge individuals by their conduct, and only by their conduct."

Besides, on the personal level, I care about those who care about me. Those who treat me as the individual human being I am; those who treat me with politeness and kindness. And those who make the effort to understand and allow for my particular foibles and idiosyncrasies. Furthermore, I make every effort to do the same for them.

But brotherhood is a two way process. I don't feel any fellowship with, or caring for, those that treat me badly. Here's my description, also from the book, of my enemies the *uncivil*:

They are the users of the political means; they are the Takers and their cronies, the Rakers. They are the dishonest, the unnatural, the inhuman. And they are the statists — promoters and supporters of the out of date political state and its violent, dishonest, collectivist politics.

And this applies on the personal level as well. So, I count as enemies those that promote or support political policies that damage me, inconvenience me or restrict my freedom in any way, or are intended to do any of these things. Those that vote for politicians and parties, that make such policies. Those that take my earnings away from me, yet give me nothing that I value in return. Those that

commit or support any violation of my human rights. Those that behave as if they were a superior species to me, and want to control me. Those that demand that I make sacrifices for good sounding causes like "helping the needy" or "the environment," yet make no such sacrifices themselves. Those that want to impose on me any kind of political correctness. Those that lie to me, or try to deceive, bullshit or browbeat me, or to manipulate my emotions against my will. Those that try to cover up the truth, or to offer lame excuses or rationalizations.

These are my enemies, not my friends or my brothers or sisters. They owe me compensation for what they have done to me; I don't owe them anything. And by their conduct, they have forfeited all right to my concern, my compassion or my charity. I feel no more fellowship for them than a Jew would feel for Nazis.

In conclusion

Lastly, I'll give you my personalized, updated version of Tom Paine's famous quote. It is, if you will, the "elevator speech" version of my entire philosophy. Here it is: "The world is my country. All civil human beings are my fellows. And honest common sense is my religion."

'March of the migrant voter'

"For the first time in history people born abroad will be in the majority in two constituencies... In East Ham and Brent North more than 50% of voters are foreign born... Such voters will make up a third of the electorate in another 25 seats, and at least a quarter in a further 50 constituencies, according to experts at Manchester University."

Slack, J. (2015, January 30) March of the migrant voter: For the first time in history people born abroad will be in the majority in two constituencies. *Daily Mail*. Retrieved from http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2931726/Four-million-foreign-voters-election-including-two-constituencies-Britons-minority.html

"... I care about those who care about me. Those who treat me as the individual human being I am ... Furthermore, I make every effort to do the same for them."

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A RADICAL LIBERTARIAN CASE FOR FREE IMMIGRATION

Richard Garner

Economics and property rights

Immigration is a big issue again, with all sorts of talk about illegals and legals, etc. On Liberty Forum, now largely a Populist/Nazi forum, there have been lots of rants about immigration as a result. I have, naturally, engaged in such debates. In fact, I get flagged to them, either by opponents of immigration, who want to wind me up, or by defenders, because everybody knows it is an issue I enjoy discussing. (I often do on the Libertarian Alliance forum too).

Now, I have often debated a pure economic case for free immigration. Here the concern is that immigrants are "stealing jobs" or that they will cause low wages or unemployment amongst the indigenous population. I refute this. People that employ immigrants are just outsourcing in a more local way. (Or check out the chapter on government grants of monopolistic privilege in Murray Rothbard's *Power and Market: Government and the Economy*, 1970).

But, at root, the issue is not an economic one. It is a property rights issue. The state simply has no right to limit or control immigration. I made this argument on Liberty Forum, to an American, and so I state it in an American context.

My point is this: If Billy Bob Stevens owns a Ranch on the Texas/Mexico border, and an immigrant puts a foot over the border, that foot does not land on Texan land, or US land, but on Billy Bob's land. Whether that immigrant gets to be there or not, then, ought to be up to Billy Bob, not the Texas state government, not the federal government, or anybody else.

And imagine that the immigrant sets foot, not on private property, but on public property? Well, public property is paid for by taxes, on eminent domain seized land, and so is actually stolen property: stolen by either local, state or federal governments. Therefore, since thieves again do not get to decide

over the property they have stolen, the local, state, and federal government does not have a right to decide whether an immigrant can set foot on that land.

What is sad is seeing so-called libertarians defend immigration controls. They often concede that immigration doesn't lead to jobs being stolen, or falling wages (only it does, of course, when those jobs are currently occupied by workers being paid too much and who use immigration controls as a tariff wall to protect their monopoly prices). But they are concerned about immigrants coming to the country to abuse its welfare system. In this case, they say "Well, I am all for free immigration, but after the welfare state is gone, or else you will get all these freeloaders."

Well, why not apply the same argument to drug decriminalisation? The reason I don't want to take hard drugs is because they scare me: they are dangerous to my health. Others may think differently, or be prepared to risk their health. If they are paying for their own treatments, they may change their minds of course: if they have to pay for insurance, etc. And even then, nobody is likely to insure them if they actively go out and seek risks, so they are likely to end up footing the bill. So, in a world of privatised health care, people who normally wouldn't, may think twice about drug taking.

But in a world with tax-funded, free at the point of access health care and long term coverage and support, why should they? The costs of their actions are forced on everybody else, and not on them. The result then, would surely be that we would get more people willing to take the risk of taking drugs under a system of nationalised health care than under a private one. And this would mean more burdens on hapless tax payers, just, as the anti-immigrationists tell us, allowing free immigration would.

"The state simply has no right to limit or control immigration."

If not now, then when?

So, logically, the anti-immigration libertarian should be an anti-drug decriminalisation libertarian, too. In fact, we could extend the argument to any risky behaviour, at which point the libertarian who opposes decriminalising immigration "in the here-and-now, whilst the welfare state exists, because immigrants are a burden on tax payers" is pretty much a "criminalise everything" libertarian! It is a plain case of "gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice". Someone who says, "No, we should keep X feature of the state until we get rid of Y" is an apologist for the X feature, and not an anti-statist at all.

Likewise the, "We need immigration controls to keep out illiberal or unlibertarian cultures" libertarian is no libertarian at all. Sure, if ten million Moslems immigrate to the UK, the UK would quickly cease to be a liberal country. But likewise, if ten million people started reading the *Communist Manifesto* the result

would be the same. So what was a case for restricting immigration would then become a case for restricting the publication of illiberal books. Basically, these libertarians are defending a position wherein libertarianism is the belief that force is only legitimate when used to protect person and property or to punish people for not agreeing with libertarianism!

About the author

Richard Garner was a friend, academic philosopher and radical libertarian as well as a frequent contributor to the SIF and the Libertarian Alliance until his premature death in 2011 at the age of 33. Since then, we have been publishing some work that he left behind, mostly "stream of consciousness" work that he never got the chance to develop. This slightly edited article may be the last such example. However, he left behind a much larger document that we are still working on!

"... gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice..."

Opinion versus reality...

"One of the many corrosive effects of having a political apparatus and a political class dominated by lawyers is that the lawyerly conflation of opinion with reality becomes a ruling principle. Lawyers and high-school debaters (the groups are not alien to one another) operate in a world in which opinion is reality: If you convince the jury or the debate judges that your argument is superior, or if you can get them to believe that your position is the correct one, then you win, and the question of who wins is the most important one if you are, e.g., on trial for murder. But if you shot that guy you shot that guy, regardless of what the jury says – facts are facts. Galileo et al. were right (or closer to right) about the organization of the solar system than were Fra Hieronimus de Casalimaiori and the Aristotelians, and the fact that Galileo lost at trial didn't change that."

Williamson, K.D. (2015, May 27). Bernie Sanders's Dark Age Economics. *National Review*. Retrieved from http://www.nationalreview.com/article/418926/bernie-sanderss-dark-age-economics-kevin-d-williamson

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(Continued from page 1)

sional restraint on the Conservative's socially authoritarian instincts.

Oh, and the Greens are just mad...

There is the cross-party issue of voting reform. I used to believe in the first past the post (FPTP) system, but no longer. It *cannot* be right that UKIP received over 12% of the UK vote but gained only 1 MP. And to be fair, if we accept the legitimacy of the separate English, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish polities, then it cannot be right that Labour received almost a quarter of the vote in Scotland but was virtually denied any Westminster representation whilst the SNP won all but three seats from half of the vote.

The lofty FPTP claim is that one is electing a person to represent the constituency. This might once have been true: less so now. We live in system where, with some exceptions, it is the colour of the rosette that matters along with "Presidential" considerations of the party leaders. In any case, to even be selected by a major party for a winnable seat prospective candidates must go through an exhaustive process that ensures their suitability for modern politics: intelligent, educated, hard working and personable to be sure; but also "reliable".

It is also claimed that FPTP gives stable government. But whatever else it did, the 2010-2015 Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition showed that stable government in the UK does not need to be of single party.

As to exactly what we should do about this, I am less certain. There are proportional electoral systems of varying complexity and representativeness on offer.

"The economy, stupid" is an oft-quoted rallying cry from Bill Clinton's 1992 US presidential campaign. If the 2015 was not quite the election that economics forgot, then it was one in which materialist considerations had to share the stage with issues to do with national identity, immigration and multiculturalism, particularly in England with UKIP and above all in Scotland with the SNP.

That said, this was not universally true in the UK. In Wales, Plaid Cymru signally failed to replicate the results of their SNP brethren.

On the basis of the popular vote they were beaten into fourth place not just by Labour and the Conservatives but even by UKIP who came third but who gained no Westminster representation.



That caveat aside, this brings me to this issue of *The Individual*. Until the events of 9/11 in 2001 in the USA, the subsequent invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, 7/7 in London, and the "War on Terror" generally, disputes within the wider British libertarian movement had generally been temperate in nature. More often than not it was between "optimists" and "pessimists" rather than on any ideological issue.

But if there was a set of overlapping issues that generated some heat then perhaps it was that of immigration, free movement of peoples, multiculturalism, etc. I would not want to push this too far, but they may have served as markers for the disputes between radical individualistic liberals on the one hand and those taking a more conservative approach on the other. It will be remembered that the SIF itself was founded as an alliance between lower-case and upper-case liberals and conservatives, sometimes united only in their antipathy towards state socialism.

The essays in this issue of *The Individual* need no further introduction from me. We always note that articles in the journal are "contributions to debate" and rarely has this been truer. In their different ways, Robert Henderson, Neil Lock and my late friend Richard Garner talk to these diverging opinions. Reader: make up your own mind! My own contribution is not really an opinion piece at all. Wearing my social researcher's hat, I hope that readers will find my simple analysis of a very limited range of public attitudes in this country about immigration to be of some interest.



I hope that it will not take so long to publish the next issue of *The Individual*. Even the Agency for the Legal Deposit Libraries in Edinburgh to whom we have to send copies of every issue has wondered what's going on!

Dr Nigel Gervas Meek

"... the SIF itself
was founded as an
alliance between
lower-case and
upper-case liberals
and
conservatives..."

WHAT THE BRITISH THINK ABOUT IMMIGRATION: EVIDENCE FROM BRITISH SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Dr Nigel Gervas Meek

Just the facts, ma'am...

Having set out a range of at least somewhat normative (ought/ought not) articles in this issue of *The Individual*, I want to finish with a brief and generally non-technical analysis of the positive (is/is not) opinions of the British public on the issue of immigration.

The data to be used

As often when considering public opinion, my first port of call is the British Social Attitudes (BSA) series run by NatCen Social Research. Each year since 1983 this "asks around 3,000 people what it's like to live in Britain and what they think about how Britain is run ... measuring and tracking changes in people's social, political and moral attitudes" (NatCen Social Research, 2015). (Although not all 3,000 are asked every question, hence the lower number of cases or "N" in the analysis below.)

By a fortunate coincidence, one of the most recent BSA surveys, 2013, contains a substantial array of items or questions concerned with immigration and related issues. The datafile is available to registered users from the UK Data Service website as SN7500 (NatCen Social Research, 2014).

A bit of screening and cleaning

After exploring the far-too-many-to-describehere array of relevant items, my eye was caught by (i) a group of five items clearly intended by the BSA researchers to be one battery, along with (ii) a singleton.

The battery of five items – all accompanied by a five-level "Agree strongly" to "Disagree strongly" set of response options once I had cleaned out the non-responses – consisted of the following:

- Immigrants increase crime rates.
- Immigrants are generally good for Britain's economy [R].
- Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in Britain.

- Immigrants improve British society by bringing new ideas and cultures [R].
- Britain's culture is generally undermined by immigrants.

This is a "balanced" array. Some of the items are worded so that to agree gives a "conservative" response whereas others are worded so that to agree gives a "liberal" response. The scores of items with [R] at end were reversed by me so that all items scored agree = conservative and disagree = liberal for subsequent statistical analysis.

The responses to all five items were somewhat normally distributed. By this I mean that the observed responses or scores describe something like the famous "bell curve" where responses tend to congregate around the middle value and then slope away in frequency towards higher and lower values.

Further analysis indicated that these five items did indeed hang together. The technique of factor analysis looks to see whether the patterns of relationships among a larger number of observed variables - the five items in this case - can be explained by a smaller number of underlying, latent variables or factors. No such factors could be found. Moreover, given this, reliability analysis of correlations between the items (Cronbach's alpha = .86, N = 838) suggest that these items go together to form a robust scale or single measure of attitudes towards immigration. Since it is dealing with those who are already here, I will call this derived variable IMMIGRANTS.

The single item was different:

 Britain should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants

It was also accompanied by a five-level "Agree strongly" to "Disagree strongly" response set. However, the observed responses were assuredly not normally distributed. Instead, they were heavily skewed towards lower scores: those agreeing with the item.

"... my first port of call is the British Social Attitudes ... series..."

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Since the item is clearly about border control and those who might arrive, I will call this single variable BORDERS.

A proper analysis would have conducted a much more exhaustive "screening and cleaning" of the data, but this will do for the illustrative purposes of this article.

A first look

Having described in words our two variables, we can look at some numbers. Figure 1 displays the distribution of scores for our derived variable IMMIGRANTS or attitudes towards immigrants who are already here. This is about as normally distributed as one might hope to find in the social sciences. Since the variable consists of five variables each with five levels, there is a theoretical minimum score of 5 and a maximum of 25. Therefore the theoretical mean (what people usually think of as "the average") is 15. In fact, analysis shows that the observed mean is 14.04 (N = 838). In other words, the attitudes of the British public are in practice near the middle of possible scores for this variable

Figure 2 displays the distribution of scores for BORDERS or the idea that Britain should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants. Here the story was very different. Observed responses were robustly skewed in favour of "cracking down" on illegal immigration: 84% of the 882 respondents agreed to some degree with this item.

It will come as little surprise that responses to IMMIGRANTS and BORDERS were significantly correlated (p < .001, N=835) with those more hostile to towards immigrants already here even more keen for illegals to be kept out.

Further analysis

We can look at associations between our two variables and a mere sample of typical sociodemographic variables.

Sex: There was no significant differences (p = .42, N = 882) between men and women in their response to BORDERS or taking stronger measures to exclude illegals. Both took an equally tough view. However there was a significant difference (p = .02, N = 838) in their response for IMMIGRANTS or attitudes towards immigrants who are already here.

Women took a slightly more liberal view although this was not great in absolute terms.

Age: There was no significant correlation (correlation = -.06, p = .07, N = 882, so it was a close thing) between how old respondents were and their response to BORDERS. The young were not much keener on illegals than their elders! However, there was a significant correlation (correlation = -.13, p < .001, N = 838) between age and IMMI-GRANTS. The correlation was negative. In other words, younger respondents took a more liberal attitude than older ones towards immigrants already here. Note that on the basis of just one survey we cannot say whether this is a life-cycle/maturational or generational/cohort effect.

Country: There was no significant difference (p = .53, N = 882) between those in England, Scotland and Wales and their responses to BORDERS. However, there was a significant difference (p < .01, N = 838) to responses for IMMIGRANTS. Subsequent analysis indicates that this was actually between those in Wales on the one hand and those in England and Scotland on the other. Those in Wales took a less enthusiastic view about the impact of immigrants. (One might question how a Welsh respondent defined an "immigrant"...) There was not a significant difference between English and Scottish opinion and I shall return to the subject of Scotland shortly.

Party identification: There were sufficient examples of each to look at differences between those who self-identified as supporters of the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats or UKIP. Taking the models overall, there were significant differences amongst identifiers for both BORDERS (p < .001, N = 645) and IM-MIGRANTS (p < .001, N = 614). Looking at pairs of differences is too involved for this article. Sufficient to say that on BORDERS, UKIP identifiers took the most hard-line view about controlling illegals followed by in order Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat identifiers. That said, the overall responses of even Liberal Democrat identifiers were more restrictive than the theoretical mean for this variable. Attitudes for IMMI-GRANTS amongst the various party identifiers followed the same order: UKIP identifiers took the most hardline view followed by in order Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat identifiers. However, here Liberal

"Observed responses were robustly skewed in favour of "cracking down" on illegal immigration..."

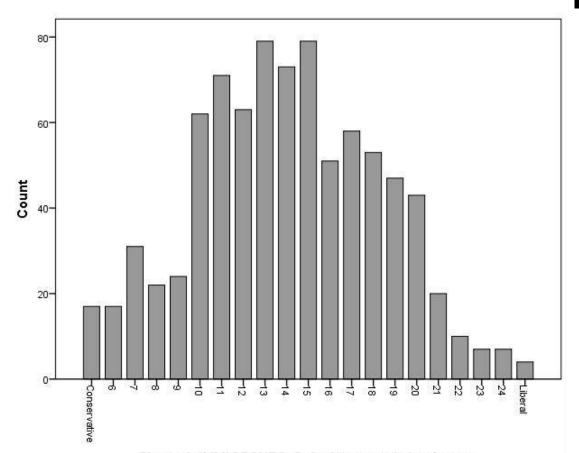


Figure 1: IMMIGRANTS: Attitudes towards immigrants

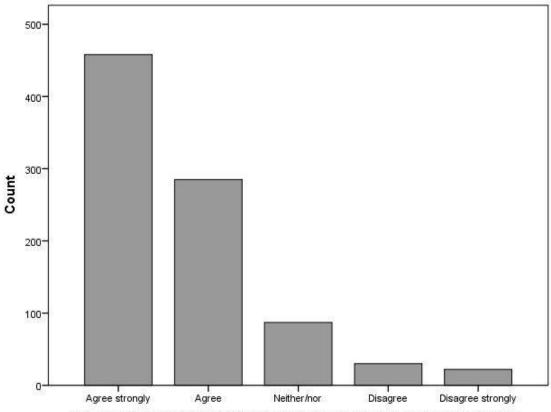


Figure 2: BORDERS: Britain should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants

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Democrat identifiers took a middling view that just about leaned towards more liberal views in absolute terms on the matter.

And I think that I shall leave it there for now!

The myth of Scottish exceptionalism

However, if I might be allowed to interrupt myself... It has come to be a widely-held view that the Scots are somehow inherently more "liberal" in its modern or US sense than, in particular, the English. They are more communitarian, caring, and so on.

We have already seen above that in at least one politically salient area this does not appear to be true. The British Social Attitudes dataset contains a wide range of variables. One set of these are five variables that go to make up the (unfortunately named) LEFT-RIGHT derived scale that deals with such matters as labour relations, and economic redistribution and equality. It is one of the most valid, reliable and widely used measures of attitudes towards economic matters in British social science. It is not the place to go into details here. However, my analysis indicates that there was no significant difference (p = .41, N = 2613) on LEFT-RIGHT between English and Scottish respondents.

As I note in my editorial to this issue of *The Individual*, other factors were at work than purely materialist ones during the recent general election.

The headline findings

The finer detail notwithstanding, the main results from this small piece of exploratory research are the distributions displayed in the two diagrams.

Looking first at IMMIGRANTS, the British are generally sceptical about more radical claims of the benefits of "vibrant multicultural and multiracial diversity" that some in positions of influence wish to see. They are engaged in large-scale social engineering with the less-than-wholehearted support of the population.

But it is equally true that the British public are not "swivel-eyed racist xenophobes" panting after some "pure" society of yesteryear. This might somewhat explain why parties such as the (effectively now-defunct) BNP made such little headway whereas UKIP has done rather better.

Turning to BORDERS, the position of the British public is much clearer. Almost irrespective of who they are, they want stronger measures to control illegal immigration. They want robust control of who comes into the country and believe – rightly or wrongly, since this is an empirical question that forms no part of this article – that they currently do not have it.

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Note: British Social Attitudes data can also be explored at the Centre for Comparative European Survey Data Information System website, http://www.ccesd.ac.uk.

About the author

Dr Nigel Gervas Meek is the editor and/or membership secretary of the SIF, the Libertarian Alliance and the Campaign Against Censorship. In 2012 he published a major quantitative study of British Conservative Party politicians: Conservative Party Politicians at the Turn of the 20th/21st Centuries: Their Attitudes, Behaviour and Background (London, Civic Education & Research Trust, 390 pages).

Having sworn when he finished his social research methods MA in the 1990s that he would never sit a closed book exam again, at the age of 50 he has nevertheless recently completed the taught section of a psychology MSc!

"... the public want stronger measures to control illegal immigration."

Marx and human nature...

Marx believed to the end of his life that communism produces as members of society humans with better wants. Members of a communist society would have a superior psychology to members of a capitalist society.

Humans possess potentialities or essences unique to humans and that the more that these were actualised the more fully human individuals would become. Capitalism dehumanised people whereas communism would allow people to achieve maximum actualisation.

Marx assumed that human psychology is largely a product of how societies are organised, in particular their mode of production. "For Marx, there is no such thing as immutable human nature".

Adapted from Conway, D. (1987). A Farewell to Marx. Harmondsworth: Pelican, pp 29-30.



The limits to human malleability...

"Most surprising of all was when my sociology tutor – a leading egalitarian theorist – informed our class that he thought social construction theory was 'mostly wish-wash'.

Those who are unfamiliar with the nature-vs-nurture debate will probably not understand why such a statement is controversial. Cognitive and genetic scientists, and evolutionary theorists, have long been viewed with suspicion by sociologists. After all, one of the chief projects of cognitive and evolutionary scientists in the past two decades has been the dismantling of the standard social science model, the theoretical framework that looks to external influences (nurture) to explain human behaviour, as opposed to genes or other innate factors (nature). If my university is anything to go by, however, even social scientists themselves are beginning to see flaws in the old model.

This is bad news for progressives. The idea that human minds are infinitely malleable, and that the human behaviour can be altered simply by changing the social environment, underpins almost every progressive campaign – from No More Page Three to non-selective schooling. This is no accident: anyone who wishes to radically change the world must, on some level, believe that human nature can be altered."

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Editor's note... My first degree was in psychology and eventually via an MA in social research methods I followed this with a PhD in political science. I write on the page opposite that I am currently doing an MSc in psychology. It involves mixing psychology and political science with a particular focus on the sort of things discussed above: the deeper and inherent psychological influences on political attitudes and beliefs. Early days but fascinating stuff! NGM.

Society for Individual Freedom

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The SIF's Aim:

"To promote responsible individual freedom"

Founded in the 1940s, the SIF is a classical liberal organisation that believes in the economic and personal freedom of the individual, subject only to the equal freedom of others.

The SIF promotes...

- ✓ The freedom, importance and personal responsibility of the individual.
- ✓ The sovereignty of Parliament and its effective control over the Executive.
- ✓ The rule of law and the independence of the Judicature.
- ✓ Free enterprise.

SIF Activities

The SIF organises public meetings featuring speakers of note, holds occasional luncheons at the Houses of Parliament, publishes this journal to which contributions are welcome, and has its own website. The SIF also has two associated campaigns: Tell-IT, that seeks to make information on outcomes of drugs and medical treatments more widely known and available to doctors and patients alike, and Choice in Personal Safety (CIPS), that opposes seatbelt compulsion and similar measures.

Joining the SIF

If you broadly share our objectives and wish to support our work, then please write to us at the address on this page, enclosing a cheque for £15 (minimum) made payable to 'Society for Individual Freedom'.

The Law of Equal Freedom

"Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man."

Herbert Spencer, Social Statics, 1851